# HINTS,

&c. &c.

BRITISH MUSEUM

# HINTS

TO

# *THE PEOPLE,*

ESPECIALLY TO

## THE INHABITANTS OF DUBLIN:

IN WHICH

THE EFFECTS OF AN UNION ON THE TRADE AND PROPERTY OF DUBLIN ARE INVESTIGATED.

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SOME of the French Conſtitutionaliſts ſaid, that their Revolution was the conflict of every principle againſt every prejudice and every abuſe. Whatever might have been in their ſenſe the juſtice of the remark, it ſeems critically applicable to the great change which is at preſent in contemplation in this country.

My opinion is favourable to that change, provided the terms be advantageous; and ſo far as the outline of the terms have been communicated to the public, I ſee no reaſon to find fault with them.

You ſhould not liſten to terms, ſay perſons whoſe views will be incommoded if the Union take place. Theſe gentlemen are without doubt very judicious in their propoſal. Great-Britain is ſenſible that a permanent ſettlement of the affairs of Ireland, is eſſential to the well-being

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of the empire. She is willing to procure that ſettlement, upon conditions to which it is the intereſt of Ireland to accede. They of courſe, wiſely enough for their own purpoſe, raiſe ſuch a clamour about national right and independence, as may prevent the queſtion of terms from coming fairly before the public. To oppoſe this idle outcry, and correct the poſſible ill effects of it, is the duty of every man who thinks that it may prove a ſalutary meaſure for the Iriſh people to incorporate the Legiſlatures, as we have united the Crowns, of Great-Britain and Ireland.

The firſt right of ſocial man is to be made happy, and if a form of government does not confer happineſs, be it never ſo illuſtrious by diadems and independence, I would reject it.

Nay, in ſome reſpects independence may be an injury. Let us for inſtance take the territory of Liege, where the people were very vain of their nationality. The government was mild, but like moſt ſmall ſtates, and all eccleſiaſtical ones, extremely inert. Its ſubjects were, for want of encouragement, in a condition of very ſqualid poverty. As the force of the ſtate was not ſufficiently powerful, to render either its enmity or neutrality reſpectable, the country of Liege was ſure, in every continental war, to be overrun and ravaged. Now if Liege, inſtead of being a diminutive independence, conſtituted part of a conſiderable monarchy, holding its ſeat of government at the Hague or at Bruſſels, is it to be queſtioned, that the people would derive eminent advantages from the alteration? In the

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firſt place, a ſuperior force would be employed to protect them from foreigners; and in the next, their Sovereign would be obliged, by his ſituation, to take a part in the affairs of Europe; and as his interference would require expence, he ſhould eſtabliſh his own reſources, by encouraging induſtry and thrifty habits among his people.

But how does this example apply to Ireland? Only ſo far as it goes to ſhew, that under certain circumſtances the pride of National independence may be a morbid, an unpatriotic, and of courſe a vicious ſentiment. This ſeems particularly to have been the caſe in Poland, where the *rights of Gentlemen* were ſet up, under the name of national honor and independence, in oppoſition to the welfare of the people, of the lower orders eſpecially. Is there not a little of the Poliſh principle in this vehement anti-union patriotiſm, we meet in Dublin? In all that has been ſaid or written on that ſide of the queſtion, I have not ſeen a ſingle calculation of profit or loſs to the common people.

The conſtitution of Ireland, which we are called upon to declare immutable, does in truth appear, under a ſpecious exterior, to be the moſt defective of any form of government that ever yet pretonded to have civil liberty for its object. Ireland to be ſure, is an independent ſtate; but then, her independence having no effect on the politics of the world, and being confined merely to a certain form and locality of legiſlating, is of ſo odd a caſt, that if we were ſilent

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on the ſubject ourſelves, all the reſt of mankind might totally overlook it.

The Parliament of Weſtminſter is known, and its importance felt throughout the world; it owes this notoriety to the circle of its diſcuſſions. But really, I believe there is not any extravagance in this aſſertion, that except here, and in the ſiſter country, not a man on earth takes the trouble to enquire by what power the laws are made which bind Ireland. It is perhaps a matter of as little ſpeculation as the variance in the teſte and ſeal, between writs iſſued for the realm of England, and thoſe which run into the counties Palatine :—To return to our Conſtitution.

In external appearance, our form of government reſembles that eſtabliſhed in Great-Britain, practically no two inſtitutions can be more different. The ſame means and organs of Government produce effects directly contrary.

The Britiſh Parliament contains the principal perſons of the landed, monied and commercial intereſts. Thus the Crown comes into contact with the moſt important deſcriptions in the ſtate, who reciprocally influence and are influenced by the Sovereign. In the latter caſe, the King only preſerves his proper aſcendant in the councils of the country; in the former the adminiſtration of public affairs receives a direction favourable to the welfare of the nation.

tion. The intereſts of theſe deſcriptions run exactly in parallel lines with thoſe of the people, neither can proſper ſeparately.

That is not the caſe, at leaſt, not univerſally, with the perſons who conſtitute the Iriſh legiſlature. The major part of our public men are taken from a ſecond claſs; the natural leaders of the country being in a great degree non-reſident.

As the firſt ſituations devolve upon men of ſecondary pretenſions, the places of theſe are again ſupplied by perſons of a third and fourth rate of figure; and ſo every order is irregularly removed from its proper ſtation. The commercial intereſt has nothing to do with Parliament; the monied very little; that portion of the great landed proprietors who have remained in the kingdom, are overpowered and loſt in the unnatural Ariſtocracy they are mixed with. The crown is influenced, but it is in favour of private intereſts; of men who have no common ſympathies with the public. A proprietary body is affected by the moſt minute miſmanagement in the external concerns of the nation, in its temper, in its habits, in its opportunities; property, whether it be in ſtock or in land, will decline in value, when the affairs of the country get into diſorder. An office-ariſtocracy with fixed emoluments, have only to apprehend a revolution, and from that danger the power of Great Britain is ſufficient to protect them. Let me aſk, is that a ſound conſtitution which is formed of much materials?

If the government were conducted under a proprietary influence, its firſt impulſe would be to ſoothe and cultivate the people;—there would be no great men encouraging feuds and factions, in order to riſe upon the ſhoulders of ſome, or to make a profit of putting down others. We would not ſee people perplexing the order of things, that they may be paid for diſentangling them. The riſk is too ſerious: That game will only be played by thoſe, who poſſeſſing power without a relative proportion of property, employ the one advantage to attract the other. Like a mechanic, who will put a bad wheel in your watch, that you may often come to his ſhop, to have it repaired. This is not the trick of eminent tradeſmen.

From theſe facts and principles, all the practical inconveniencies in our ſyſtem of government may be explained and accounted for. The fault to be ſure is in the abſence of the principal men of fortune, who permit a leſs eligible deſcription to ſeize the ground which they were deſigned to occupy. But no matter, we, the people, ſuffer; we are afflicted with a courſe of politics at once expenſive and pernicious. The adminiſtration muſt ſubmit to jobbing and manœuvres; for it is conſtrained to act through the medium of men, who do not think ſuch practices beneath them. We are in the condition of a ſoldier, who is not only flogged, but put under ſtoppage, to pay for the cat-o-nine tails.

As our Legiſlature has thus an original defect, as it is inſuperably difficult to form a better, and yet impoſſible to diſpenſe with any, is it not our wiſeſt courſe to incorporate our

Parliament

Parliament with that of Great Britain? The leaſt ſound part of ours may then without heſitation be retrenched, and that which remains, will be corrected, by being blended with a body formed upon better principles, and habituated to a more dignified and purer courſe of practice.

Are there no men of mere ſpeculation in the Britiſh Parliament? I am aware of the queſtion. There are ſeveral, neither actually, nor by cloſe relationſhip connected with the highly propertied claſſes. The difference conſiſts in this. The political expectants conſtitute in Ireland the greater part, and infinitely the more active, they communicate their character to the entire body; in England they are few and aſſimilate to the majority.——

"Sublata cauſa tollitur effectus."—This is a ſound old rule. There is certainly a good deal of public evil in this kingdom. If we have traced the ſource of the miſchief rightly, that is, to the circumſtance of power being unnaturally lodged in the hands of ſubordinate perſons, then we may well ſuppoſe the remedy to conſiſt, in remitting theſe gentlemen back to their proper rank of ſquires, to the care of their eſtates, to the duties of their offices, of their profeſſions, to the management of their private affairs in general.

This meaſure it is ſaid, will create great and univerſal diſcontent—That point is to be conſidered.

It will diſoblige the Bankers. And truly well it may; but I doubt whether thoſe gentlemen will get many to join them in their miff, when the motives of it come to be conſidered.

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It is aſtoniſhing what profit is made by the low credit of the Iriſh government. Mr. Pitt always borrows at a leſſer rate of intereſt than we do. During the preſent war we have raiſed money ſometimes at three per cent. ſometimes at two more than it would have coſt, if it had been procured on the credit of the Imperial government. Sometimes the diſproportion was more extravagant. Set down on a rough gueſs, ten millions as the ſum borrowed for the exigence of the war, and let us average at two per cent, the difference of intereſt. This on ten millions amounts to 200000l. per year. Thus if we had, ſince the expences of the contry encreaſed, borrowedon the credit of the Empire, there would have been a ſaving of two hundred thouſand pounds per annum, which might either remain in the purſes of the ſubjects, or be applied to any public purpoſes. This enormous loſs goes to the debit of our independence. It is in no wiſe ſtrange, that men who deal in money, ſhould be deſirous to take a turn at theſe extravagant profits, and with that view, that they ſhould wiſh to keep the credit of the country low. A ſeparate government is the likelieſt method to enſure occaſionally a ſeparate loan. The people are not their objects.

It will diſpleaſe the Merchants:—That I deny. The capital merchants not only of the out-ports, but of Dublin, are diſpoſed to incorporate with England, provided, the intereſt of trade be ſecured by the conditions. They know that commerce cannot thrive among Orange-men and United-men, nor any where without the protection of a ſtrong government; they know that the

the government muſt be more efficient in proportion as the people are more prone to diſſenſions: Juſt as conſtable muſt be furniſhed with better means than his ſtaff of office, that he may keep the peace when the pariſh is riotous.

It is true, a fag end, a pitiful minority in numbers and conſequeuce of the trade of Dublin, did at the manſion houſe agree to certain reſolutions, dictated to them by the mover and ſeconder.* Theſe I conſign to the fraternal embrace of the Aldermen of Skinner's alley. The reſolutions of both are entitled to an equal degree of conſideration.

The corporations of Dublin.—For every motive that a merchant has to deſire a well ordered government, the leaders of theſe bodies have a counter inducement to protract the duration of a ſyſtem, that neceſſarily leads to turbulence. Many a ſnug thing falls to the ſhare of men enjoying city honours, which would not be the caſe, if the adminiſtration and the people were in a perfect good underſtanding. We have ſometimes heard of blow-coals in families, who kept huſband and wife at variance, for the ſake of little pickings to the confidant.

Theſe corporations have been ſo much accuſtomed to cry out without occaſion, that at length no body minds them. It is now exactly ſix years ſince they pledged their lives and fortunes, with the

* It is neceſſary to remark, that the merchants of Dublin and the guild of merchants are very different bodies.

the ſame degree of mock importance, againſt granting the franchiſe of election to the Catholics.

The counties adjacent to Dublin. We know how their pulſe beats. Their bowels are moved by the poſſible fate not of College-green, but of Smithfield. I ſhall drop a word of conſolation to the graziers and hay-farmers of Meath and Dublin before I conclude, which will I truſt put them again into good humour.

Would an Union diminiſh the ſplendour of Dublin? I think not. Would it increaſe the number of abſentees? I anſwer equally in the negative.

There is a very pretty author on this ſubject, Mr. Jebb, who has made very plauſible calculations. I own I was at firſt taken with them, until I found that he reaſoned like the country girl, who propoſed to ſell her eggs and buy a calf and then a cow, and then become a great lady, but a ſlight chuck to the bowl of eggs made the ſpeculative viſion vaniſh.

In humble imitation of Mr. Jebb, I will try my hand at calculation, if it were only to ſwell my book for the profit of my bookſeller.

That gentleman ſuppoſes that 610,000l. per annum would be added to the ſums drawn by abſentees.

Every body knows no ſuch annual ſums could be remitted in ſpecie; it ſhould be ſent in commodities.

modities which, even granting him his argument, would leave a drawback to the amount of the profits of the ſeveral hands they paſſed through.

It is a notorious fact, that almoſt every man who can afford to live in England, does ſo at preſent. And many who cannot afford the expence of an Engliſh reſidence, ſubject themſelves to it in theſe times, on account of the diſturbed ſtate of this country.

Are there five men, not in office, whoſe eſtabliſhments amount to 10,000l. per annum each, who do not ſpend a principal part of that income in England, and who do not very much keep their families there.

I grant that this claſs would be ſettled, more than they actually are, in England, but a greater number of them would alſo occaſionally reſide in Ireland. They would be conſtrained ſo to do in order to cultivate county intereſts, and ſecure their returns to the Imperial Parliament. This would be one counterbalance to the increaſe of abſentees.

Another would be, that if the country was quiet, all the perſons of middling fortune, who lead a rambling life among the Engliſh watering places, without any political view whatſoever, would return to Ireland, where they could enjoy the conveniencies of life ſo much cheaper. Three thouſand pounds per year muſt be taken in this ſenſe, as a middling fortune, becauſe it is inadequate, at the preſent high rate of luxurious conveniencies,

veniencies, to keep up a fashionable establishment in England.

Every man having an estate in Ireland, may be said to be 25 per cent. out of pocket by living in Great Britain; and now I shall further enforce the fallacy of Mr. Jebb's calculation.

His first item, in the charge of 610,000l. consists of 100 gentlemen not in Parliament, who are to go away in disgust. He rates each at 1500l. per annum. Let us see what figure a person of that income would make in England:

| | | | £. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 1500 |
| Loss on exchange and agency may be moderately laid at 10 per cent. | £. 150 | | |
| Mismanagement of the estate, in consequence of the proprietor's absence, 5 per cent. — — | 75 | | 225 |
| | 225 | | 1275 |
| British tax on income 10 per cent — — | | | 127 10 |
| | | | 1147 10 |
| All such luxuries as an equipage, an elegant house, &c. are at least one third higher in England than in this country—deduct for that third — — — | | | 382 10 |
| Remains — — — | | | 765 |

Thus,

Thus, when he has removed to England, your Iriſh gentleman of 1500l. income, is reduced to live no better than his neighbour, who has remained at home upon 765l. It is fortunate that calculating, like cudgelling, is a game that two can play at.

As to the Members of the Houſe of Commons, there again the ſtatement is ſpecious and inaccurate.

The number of Abſentees may be augmented ſomewhat, by ſending members to the imperial Parliament; but for this reaſon the increaſe will not be conſiderable. The great land-owners, who live in England, will ſeek to repreſent the counties in which their eſtates are ſituated. They do not at preſent ſolicit that truſt, for it would be inconvenient for them to attend to it. A Seymour will repreſent the county of Antrim, a Grenville the Queen's county or Weſtmeath, a Cavendiſh the county Cork, a Wyndham the county Clare. Many of the abſentees have at preſent no intercourſe with Ireland, but what ariſes from receiving their rents and making leaſes; they will then be brought completely into contact with the popular intereſt in the ſeveral counties; and in their affluence there is a ſecurity againſt venality, the very beſt which it is poſſible to procure.

With regard to the Peerage,—There are not 25 temporal Peers who at preſent attend their duty in Parliament, and take a part in public concerns. Of thoſe who do, many hold offices, the duties of which render their preſence fre-

quently neceſſary in Ireland. A good many live on their eſtates and never attend Parliament. It is utterly unintelligible, what ſhould induce theſe noblemen to break up their old habits, and run away to England, becauſe a Parliament with which they never intermeddled, has ceaſed to ſit in Dublin.

Are the inhabitants of the new ſtreets and great ſquares of Dublin, mere men of faſhion, mere members of Parliament? I affirm they are not. Perhaps one-fifth of theſe inhabitants may conſiſt of unemployed families, who live in Dublin, as a place where an elegant eſtabliſhment is moſt cheaply ſupported. The remainder are men of profeſſion, men in office, opulent merchants. How could their reſidence in Dublin be affected by the ſitting of Parliament?

There are about 200 attending members of both houſes. They ſit during three months in the year for the diſpatch of buſineſs. About three-fourths of them are men holding public employments, or barriſters, whoſe occupations neceſſarily fix their reſidence in Dublin. Their ſeſſion happens to concur, in point of time, with the ſeaſon of general reſort to the metropolis, but does not occaſion it. In the dreary part of winter the country grows inconvenient to families in eaſy circumſtances. There are no large towns for their accommodation, in one direction between Dublin and Kilkenny, in a ſecond to Londonderry and Belfaſt, in a third to Galway, in a fourth to Cork and Limerick. They of courſe repair to this city. This is the

hiſtory

hiſtory of the influx to the capital of Ireland; it will continue exactly ſo long as perſons, who require amuſement, find here plays, balls and card parties, and not one moment longer. The number who come to Dublin to hear the debates of the Houſe of Commons, or even thoſe who come to ſolicit the favor of government, would not fill up one week's demand in the ſhops and markets of this city. This latter deſcription cannot be very affluent.

I do pretend, that in the conſequences of an Union, there is not ground to apprehend a diminution of the faſhionable reſort to Dublin; on the contrary, the city will be recruited and extended ſo ſoon as our political ſquabbles are put to reſt, by the return of our own middling gentry, and by the additional number of merchants, whom the increaſe of trade will enable to live ſplendidly.

It has been oſtentatiouſly thrown out in the courſe of this controverſy, that there was no ground to expect an acceſſion of capital, becauſe we had ſo long an unreſtrained commerce, and yet ſtrangers had not been induced to ſpeculate in the trade of Ireland. Does not the very argument ſuggeſt a queſtion that reſolves it? How has it happened that ſo much property has, from the unſettled ſtate of Europe, been dancing up and down in ſearch of an aſylum, yet not a guinea ventured to Ireland.

It is not poſſible to adduce a ſtronger piece of evidence in proof of the unfavourable opinion perſons out of this country entertained of our Conſtitution. Our geographical ſituation is ad-

vantageous to trade; there was no reſtriction on our commerce, except what aroſe from the want of funds to traffic on. Never ſince the overthrow of the Roman empire did ſo many wealthy individuals abandon their accuſtomed reſidence, drawing with them a vaſt maſs of the opulence of the continent. All this time we were throwing out our baits and lures. We offered privileges. We extended the facility of naturalization farther than any European government. All would not do, the fugitive foreigners continued as contumacious as the herrings, whom the late Mr. Conyngham's bills could not allure to the coaſt of Donegal. Every man, who conſidered the affairs of Ireland, foreſaw that the ſettlement of 1782 could never ſtand—that things muſt come to a ſeparation or an Union; and people ſtood aloof until the burſt was over.

They ſaw a miſunderſtanding, ſerious and founded upon ſyſtem, upon deſign and upon habits, between the makers of theſe laws and the public. If they inſpected the Police of the country, they ſaw, at a little diſtance from the ſeat of Government, a relaxed diſcipline, which if it did not invite to acts of diſorder, did not certainly repreſs the tendency to commit them.

They muſt have ſeen that neither this negligence in preventing crimes, nor the ſeverity practiſed in avenging them, were accidental; for there were men who lived upon the defamation of their country, making a merit to government of their importance in the management

management of a people who were capable of ſuch offences, and required to have ſubordination enforced by ſuch examples.

To be ſure, no perſon of ordinary prudence would commit his property under a ſettlement ſo imperfect, and an adminiſtration ſo irregular. The government was fetterred by an oligarchy, who with all its forms of independence, daily alienated the ſubjects. Now let this queſtion go to the opponents of the intended ſettlement. Have three years elapſed out of the laſt ſixteen without very deciſive proofs given by our people of ill-humour at their inſtitutions?

Such of us, who drank claret by our fire-ſides in Dublin,* and looked no further, poſſibly did not ſee much of it, nor even of the general bad ſyſtem under which we were placed. Juſt as a man inhabiting a ſmoaky room becomes inſenſible to the defect, but his neighbour perceives inſtantly that he breathes an horrid atmoſphere.

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* Counſellor Saurin is ſurely of this number. He indeed is reported to have gone further, and ſaid at the Bar-meeting that Ireland proſpered for five hundred years paſt. A little hyperbole of this kind muſt ſuggeſt a wonder, that Iriſh beef and potatoes have not been able in a couple of generations to phlegmatize his Gallic vivacity. Again he ventures a ſecond time out of Chancery, let me recommend to him the peruſal of ſome hiſtory of Ireland for the laſt two centuries.

It does not follow, becauſe we had no acceſſion of foreign capital, under a ſyſtem which every man out of Ireland cenſured, that we ſhould be equally unable to procure that advantage, when we have formed our inſtitutions upon a principle which every writer on the affairs of Ireland has recommended.

Certainly unleſs Great Britain be diſſatisfied with our political ſituation a good deal of property will in the courſe of things, find its way from thence into this iſland.

Here are the reaſons of this concluſion.—Mr. Pitt lately ſtated, that the capital actually engaged in the trade of Great Britain amounts to 90,000,000l. ſterling. From another quarter * equally authentic, we know that the property of Britain increaſes 20,000,000l. ſterling annually.

The property in the funds is worth about 400,000,000l. ſterling.

The enormous profit upon this capital is now abſorbed by the loans, for the ſervice of the war. That iſſue will be cloſed upon a peace. Money will conſequently regorge in the market.

The ſinking fund conſiſts of four millions per year, which are regularly applied, and annually increaſed by compound intereſt. On the eſtabliſhment of peace much larger ſums will be appropriated to this purpoſe.

The

* Meeting of Bankers and Merchants in London, in the beginning of this ſeſſion.

The intereſt of money will then of neceſſity ſink to the loweſt rate poſſible. Its fall to two and an half per cent. would not be extraordinary.

From this diminution of income, monied men will run into commercial enterprize, and as the trade of Britain is already very full, their next object for the employment of their capital muſt be Ireland, provided they be not repelled, as hitherto they have been, by an unfavourable opinion of our conſtitution. We have obſerved Engliſhmen embark under the deſpotiſm of Ruſſia, in preference to the humourſome people and jealous oligarchy of independent Ireland. I merely ſtate a fact, without any invidious alluſion whatſoever.

Now if the people of Ireland be more employed, they will of courſe have more money to lay out, they will demand more articles of conſumption from abroad, and ſend more goods out of the kingdom to procure them. It is not, that the ſum of benefits here ſet out, are to be of partial operation. The entire country will be unavoidably improved, but in the general good, the ſhare of Dublin muſt be eminent.—Firſt, from its convenience to London, and its eſtabliſhed intercourſe with that city, which muſt ever continue to this town a decided preference in all money tranſactions.—Secondly, its contiguity to thoſe parts of England, where manufactures, and indeed every branch of trade, principally flouriſh, render it the moſt ready depot for the articles of Britiſh produce, requiſite to the conſumption of Ireland.—And, thirdly, Dublin commands a great extent

of

of country; from Kilkenny, for example, to Athlone; and from thence again to Newry; together with the direct line from each of these places to this city. All which district cannot so commodiously, for export or supply, use any other harbour.

In a late publication on statistical politics, Mr. Fred. J. Falkiner's address to the electors of the county, the growth of Dublin is gravely attributed to the annual session of Parliament. It is not unusual on a slight view of concurrent circumstances, to ascribe one to the other, as a fly perched upon a wheel claims the merit of moving it.

Such improvement as the nation in general has made, may be easily attributed, as to the North, to the increased demand for linen both in the home and American markets; and as to the South, to the removal of the disabilities upon the Catholics. And what has our oligarchical Parliament to do with these measures? It had no concern with the first, and was an unwilling instrument of the second; for the concession to the Catholics in 1779, like that of 1793, was carried by the strong influence of the British Government. In the beginning of that very session, a bill to the same effect, introduced by the present Prime Serjeant, was indignantly rejected. The industrious inhabitants of three provinces, in which there was scarcely any occupation known besides the culture of land, were by the most degrading and improvident of all laws, declared incapable of any property in the subject of their industry.—This perversion of legislative power was, in 1779,

with

with difficulty corrected. From that hour we may date the increaſed proſperity of Ireland; and that of Dublin, which muſt at all times keep equal pace with the welfare of the country, in this inſtance did rather more. Far be it from me to diſparage the motives of the late Lord Mountjoy, the oſtenſible author of the meaſure; but he could not have purſued a wiſer project for the improvement of his eſtates. Dublin was eſpecially affected by that wholeſome alteration. For numbers of the middling Catholics, who had idle money, ſo ſoon as they could take ſatisfactory leaſes, ran on houſe building; and many of the more rich, were induced by the ſecurity of tenure, to lay out large ſums for their own accommodation. I ſhall ſtate the entire profit to the nation of this improved policy, with as much accuracy as the nature of the caſe admits; *I do ſo*, not only to correct the errors of a gentleman, placed in a ſituation ſo very elevated, the repreſentative of our firſt county; but in order to prove to the nation how much it owes to that deſcription of its citizens, and to rebuke thoſe flimſy politicians, who of late have ventured to impute the misfortunes of the country to the principal cauſe of its proſperity.—Proſperity indeed, relative to what we were, not to what we ſhould be; like verdure creeping ſlowly up a mountain's ſide, whoſe bleak front preſents to view an immenſe heath, chearleſs and uncultivated.

Until 1779, the Catholic people of Ireland were incapable of obtaining any intereſt in land; previous to that period, every Catholic who acquired property in Ireland, concluded his labours by eſtabliſhing his family in a foreign country, and

and they were invited to do ſo by the moſt flattering immunities. An Iriſh Catholic emigrating to France, Spain, or the Auſtrian dominions, was admitted upon very ſlight documents, to all the privileges of the moſt antient nobility.

The relaxations of 1779 and of 1782, prevented that emigration, and drew back to this kingdom many Catholics, engaged abroad in ſucceſsful commerce.

It is not extravagant to eſtimate the capital ſums brought into Ireland by Iriſh Catholics, who had reſided abroad, at - - £500,000

Money inveſted in land by Catholics, who had acquired large properties in money, which they would otherwiſe have tranſported to Catholic countries, about - £2,000,000

Men of middling ſituation, who were prevented by the encouragement to ſettle at home, from ſending their children to foreign ſervices, about - - - - £1,000,000

The

Brought over £3,500,000

The advantage to Catholics in trade, of a means of employing in land their ſurplus, or dead capital, may be eſtimated to have in that ſpace of time enriched the nation, to the amount of - - - - - - - £5,000,000 capital ſtock.

This calculation is ſurely under the fact.

Dealers in land were encouraged in their improvements, by getting long tenures; acceſſion to the nation's wealth, at leaſt - - - - - £5,000,000 Ditto

Total Profit to the nation, on a very moderate calculation, - - £13,500,000

With the ſuper-lucration upon that capital ſum, for near twenty years; with what is infinitely more, the immenſe facility to barter and alienation, in conſequence of theſe vaſt ſums being thrown into circulation, and ſwelling the currency of the country.

I ſtand on theſe proofs, as to the practical good conſequences of the former conceſſions to Catholics; and where any ill effects have enſued, I attribute them to the want of method

and

and liberality. And I make these assertions with not the less confidence, altho' they contradict the doctrines of two eminent opposers of the Union; the Patron, and the avenging Angel of the *Orange-Men*.

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## ADDITIONAL REMARKS.

I MUST here insert two remarks, which escaped me in their proper places. Some persons are apprehensive that an Union will subject them to the heavy taxes levied in Great-Britain. Particular exceptions, and the quota to be paid by Ireland, to the exigencies of the empire, will, it is to be presumed, constitute part of the treaty. But let us look about, and consider how rapidly we run after Great-Britain in the career of debt and taxes on our separate establishment. The taxes imposed during the present war, in Britain, are high, but they are supported by an augmentation of property more than equivalent to the burden. The same event has occasioned in Ireland considerable addition to our debt and taxes. I admit the necessity of the expence, but we had not the same consolatory equivalent; for the value of property has been on the decline during that period. Britain is not taxed beyond her means. I should sooner expect to see Ireland highly taxed, by a domestic Legisla-

ture

ture, which is not ſo much bound to keep terms with the people, than by the united Parliament. What occaſions the propoſal—to Unite? —The Britiſh government dreads a ſeparation, and is deſirous to take this country under its immediate inſpection, in order to cultivate by a ſoothing policy, the affections of the people, and attach them to the Empire. And can it be ſuppoſed that, after having with great pains attained its object, the Britiſh government will defeat the effect of it, by irritating the Iriſh.

We have ſeen, page 12, how waſteful the plan is, of borrowing money for the public ſervice on ſeparate loans.

Our taxes will, to be ſure, be augmented; or rather they will naturally encreaſe, when the Union ſhall have extended the wealth of Ireland. But no man will object to pay taxes, when he is furniſhed with the means of paying them without inconvenience.

If our conſtitution was equally ſound as that of Britain, wherefore ſince the year 1782, has not this country derived from the commerce of the world, advantages in any degree proportionable to thoſe of Britain? This is the fair eſtimate to judge by, and not by the compariſon of what Ireland is now, with what ſhe was previous to the change in her internal policy and external capability.

We are two powers engaged in the ſame adventure, the one has added in the ſame ſpace of time to its capital, a fourfold encreaſe; the other has improved very little more than what ſome domeſtic alterations may account for.

Having

Having noticed a very ingenious, but in my opinion erroneous pamphlet, by Richard Jebb, Esq. I am bound to declare, that I should be sorry to imply, by any expression I have used, a sentiment different from what I feel.—Mr. Jebb's book seems to me to be the work of an acute, and well cultivated understanding.

W. S.

THE END.

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